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657 Yat-sen) was elected chairman. It was this
744 organization which took over all U. S. charities after the outbreak of the war in Korea. In the organizing of branch offices, four years later it was reported that twenty-three large cities in all regions of China had branch offices of the People's Relief Administration. In Southwest China, branch offices have been established in Chungking and Chengtu in the province of Szechwan and in Kunming in the province of Yunnan. A special provincial branch office was also set up in Kweichow Province.[12] There have been meetings and conferences, but the only actual relief work to date has been the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[13]

444 Due to the increase of unemployment, the
657 Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administrative Council. Regional Labor Employment Committees were established in August of the same year. Later similar committees were formed on lower administrative levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[14]

12. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 396-397.

13. Cultural and Social Movements, pp. 6-8.

14. Ibid., p. 8.

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746 731 northern Kiangsu provinces in East China by the people of the Southwest. In 1951, the city people of East Szechwan contributed JMP$ 425,000,000 and some 2,700,000 pounds of food to the famine-stricken rural areas.[23]

444 In the cities, especially in the early period of the Communist regime, unemployment was an extremely serious problem. In the Southwest Region it was estimated that in 1952 about 2,600,000 people were unemployed or partly unemployed,[24] and as a result the Communist regime established a Labor Employment Committee in Peking as well as on the various levels in local governments. Under this committee the "registration of labor employment" was conducted. The following steps were taken to alleviate the problem of unemployment: (1) the centralization of employment agencies under the Labor Employment Committee, (2) the establishment of training courses, (3) the substitution of work for direct relief, (4) the advocation of self-help-through-production, (5) outright relief (only to cases of extreme hardship), and (6) a

23. Ibid.
24. Relief Work, p. 13.

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campaign to encourage workers to return to the rural areas to engage in production.[25] All in all, the basis of city relief was self-help-through-labor, which was also the emphasis of rural relief policies. For example, in Chungking needy people were organized into handicraft-production teams. Early in 1955, it was reported that in addition to those performing regular and seasonal labor, 32,000 needy people were organized into productive labor teams in Chungking. Among the people who were unable to make a living, including the aged, the cripple, and the young, relief was given to 41,828 families in the period January-October 1954, according to a Communist source.[26]

Beggars, pickpockets, and prostitutes were the subjects of an intensive campaign. It was reported in 1952 that the majority of these three city elements had been sent to institutions for reform and training in productive works.[27] In a speech in September 1954, the Communist Minister of Internal Affairs told the National People's Congress that prostitutes, beggars, and opium smokers were "basically

25. Ibid., p. 16.
26. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, America Consulate General, No. 1008, Supplements, March 16, 1955, pp. 8-10.
27. New China Daily, Sept. 28, 1952, p. 4.

362 466 The housing projects for workers of Southwest China have been concentrated in Chungking and Chengtu; the number of units built was far less than in other regions. By March 1953, nine apartment houses with 577 rooms for workers and their families had been built in Chungking. There are no private baths and no private kitchens in these apartments. Only workers in construction and public utilities are eligible to live in these apartments. They rented for 12 wage-units per month (25,890 yuan, about US 1.00).[33] The municipal government of Chengtu completed a housing project for 512 families in April 1953. The whole project consisted of 14,896 square meters of floor space (about 152,534 square feet). Each family occupied about 250 square feet of floor space.[34] Compared with the living standard in pre-Communist China, this is a great improvement, but it benefitted only a small part of the working force.

## VII. UNEMPLOYMENT

● 464 Since the Constitution of Communist China guarantees the right to work to everyone, the Communists maintain that "unemployment" under the new regime is a temporary holdover from the old

33. New China Daily, April 29, 1953, p. 2.
34. Ibid., April 30, 1953, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

economy and will eventually disappear after the transformation from the capitalist economy to the socialist economy is completed in the future. 464 •

During the period from 1952 to 1952, 354,297 unemployed workers registered with the local governments in the Southwest Region. By October 1952, about 76 per cent of the registrants had found work through their own efforts or through government agencies. The Communist methods of unemployment relief included "substitution of work for relief," "increased production and self-help," and a "back-to-the-village" drive. Most of the unemployed urban workers in the Southwest Region were recruited to build railways, highways, and other public works in large cities such as Chungking, Chengtu, and Kungming. Only 15 per cent of the unemployed workers received direct relief in the region.[35]

## VIII. THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND THE WORKERS OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

The industry of Southwest China is still largely in the handicraft stage. The first Five-Year Plan initiated by the Communists in 1953 contained no major projects for the region. None of the small-scale factories and mines play any significant parts in the plan. Despite these facts, 185

35. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 29, p. 2 and Sept. 30, p. 2, 1952.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

499 kilometers (about 314 miles) in length and connects the provincial capital of Szechwan Province and the commercial center of the Southwest Region. In addition to the building of roadbeds, which had been partly finished by the Nationalists, the entire work consisted of building 45 tunnels, 327 bridges, 701 culverts, and 26,530,000 cubic feet of earthwork.[3] It was begun in June 1950 and was completed by the end of June 1952, six months in advance of the scheduled time. It was opened to traffic on July 1 of that year.

A. Recruitment of Labor

499 464 In June 1950, the Southwest Railway Engineering Committee was created by the Southwest Military and Political Committee. Because of the urgent need for construction, the authorities first used the regular army. At the same time, the Southwest Railway Engineering Committee, in co-operation with the hsien governments, worked on the recruitment of civilian labor. In addition to patriotic appeals such as they had used in other mass-labor projects, the authorities promised the peasants

3. Wang Chih-fen, Chengtu-Chungking Railway, Shanghai, 1954, pp. 18-19.

499 reduction of land rent, the return of rental
464 deposits on their land, and a cheap supply of daily necessities to the workers along the construction sites. The methods of recruitment seemed to be effective. Some 38,000 persons answered the call from the eastern part of that province; 30,000 from the southern part, 10,000 from Chengtu and the western part; 6,000 from the northern part; and 22,000 unemployed workers from Chengtun and Chungking also took part in the construction. The total labor force amounted to 104,000 men.[4] After the recruited civilians were organized, they took over the construction job from the army, some members of which were kept to act as office personnel and as an engineering corps.

B. Organization and Living Conditions of the Labor Force

499 The units of the labor organization were
466 formed according to the plan of the projected line, which was divided into 180 sections. Each section was allocated 579 workers. Each group of workers was divided into two shifts. They were formed into small teams according to the character of the work assigned to them. Their

4. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung ti Nu-kung Chin-tu [Slavery System of the Chinese Communist] Hong Kong, Tzu-ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 89.

499 work had already passed the Wei River. Originally it was scheduled to be finished in 1957, but the Communists have now scheduled its completion for 1956.

2. The Chengtu-Kunming Line runs from Chengtu in Szechwan Province to Kunming in Yunnan Province. Work on the line was begun in 1954 and scheduled for completion within the period of the first Five-Year Plan, which ends in 1957.

3. The Lung-ch'ang --Kweiyang Line is still being planned.

4. The Szechwan-Sikang Line will run from Chengtu to Ya-an in former Sikang Province. It is in the planning stage.

5. The Hunan-Kweichow Line will run from Chu-chou in Hunan Province to Kweiyang in Kweichow Province. It is under contemplation.

6. The Yunnan-Burma Line will run from Kunming in Yunnan to Nanta in Burma. It is under contemplation.

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## III. MASS LABOR IN HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION (SIKANG-TIBET HIGHWAY)

The Government Administration Council

499 issued one directive concerning the conscription
464 of peasants to build and repair the highways in 1951,[14] which authorized all levels of local governments (administrative district, hsien, chu, and hsiang) to recruit and organize civilian labor for highway construction. It is stipulated in the directive that one recruit is limited to 10 standard work-days each year. One standard work-day is the average amount of work accomplished per day per person in that locality. The recruits receive no daily allowance for their food and are required to bring their own tools. In Southwest China, during five years of Communist control, about 5,000 kilometers (about 3,105 miles) of highways had been constructed with recruited laborers.[15] The most important one -- the Sikang-Tibet Highway -- was completed by the end of 1954.

A. Difficulties of the Job

491 The Sikang-Tibet Highway, 2,240 kilometers (about 1,400 miles) long, today links Lhasa with the rest of China. It is the first highway built in China at such a high altitude and in the face of so many difficulties. It climbs the

14. Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies of the Central Government, Peking, March 1952, Vol. III, pp. 713-15.

15. People's Daily, Jan. 13, 1955.

491 snow-clad mountains that tower 16,000 feet above sea level, with bridges across the tremendous ravines where mountain torrents plunge through twisting gorges. The area along the route is rocky, precipitous, and subject to earthquakes, landslides, avalanches, and shifting sands.

499 Although the Communists had no topographical
464 maps of this region, no geological, seismological, or weather records, and no engineers with experience in highway construction over such a terrain as the Plateau of Tibet, they mobilized a tremendous amount of manpower.

B. Labor Force and Working Conditions of the Laborers

By the end of 1951, the local governments of K'ang-ting, Ya-an, Ch'ang-tu and T'ien-chüan had recruited about 8,000 civilian laborers. They began to work with the man-power of the People's Liberation Army. In that winter they worked on the terrain 16,000 feet above sea level under severe weather, 25 degrees below zero (C). By March 1952, out of the original 8,000 builders, 3,500 had died as the result of hardships and the climate.[16] At the same time, a fresh

16. Cheng Chu-yüan, op. cit., p. 98.

499 supply of 50,000 recruits continued to pour
464 into the construction sites, including thousands of Tibetans who worked from the western end of the line.

499 The builders were equipped with rock drills and power-driven saws which they moved in first to get rid of the most stubborn obstacles. It seems that on the Sikang-Tibet Highway road-building machinery was used more than on other highway construction. In one report the Communists said that snowplows and bull-dozers cleared millions of cubic feet of snow and earth, replacing hand labor even on mountain tops and in deep forests.[17]

The Sikang-Tibet Highway has been the most-talked-about highway construction in Mainland China. Almost all the newspapers in different parts of China sent the reporters to the construction sites. This resulted in thousands of detailed press reports which disclosed the "heroic and tragic life of the masses who toiled on the roof of the world."[18]

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17. China Reconstructs, Peking, May 1955, pp. 2-5.

18. People's Daily, June 9, 1954, and Dec. 17, 1954; Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Aug. 7, and Sept. 26, 1954.

697 who had no professional training were formed into groups to reclaim waste land, repair or build municipal warehouses, and work on the highways.[27]

697 731 In Li-chiang hsien, Yunnan Province, a Reform-through-labor corps of 30,000 prisoners was employed to repair the damages of an earthquake in December 1952. With the help of the peasants in the area, they dredged 6 rivers, rebuilt more than 100 villages, dug 78 ditches, and constructed 87 water basins to irrigate 110,000 mou (about 16,610 acres) of rice field, which was returned to production by the prisoners.[28]

There are several Reform-through-labor camps in the suburbs of Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province. One is in T'an-hua-ssu, and contained 3,000 prisoners in 1954.[29]

## V. COMMENTS

•464 It is doubtful that the use of patriotic appeals in recruiting peasants to work on the construction of such projects as the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway would be successful again and again. The

27. Sung Wei-ta, Hung-chieh Yü-sheng [Life After Red Terror], Taipei, 1955, p. 104.

28. Yün-nan Tung-nan-ya Ti Huo-san [Yunan--the Volcano of Southeast Asia], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, The Nationalist Party, May 1954, p. 31.

29. World Today, Aug. 1, 1954, p. 12.

464 Chinese peasants are both individualistic and conservative. After they have acquired land, they wish to be left alone. If the Communists want to employ men on mass-labor projects in the future, they may have to rely increasingly on material offers rather than on emotional appeal.

In their press reports, the Communists have always boasted of their ability to mobilize millions of peasants to work for the "Motherland"; they seemed to care little for the results of mobilization. In many cases, because of lack of planning, the use of patriotic appeals to arouse the masses resulted in a waste of manpower, causing frustration among those who remained idle or worked needlessly. For instance, one Communist report from Mien-chu Hsien in Szechwan Province admitted that the local government wasted 16,000 mandays in digging a well which did not yield one drop of water. Another report from Ying-shan, also in Szechwan Province, stated that the local dams were swept away by the torrent before the recruited peasants had finished them. In both cases, the local governments spend 30,000 catties (33,000 lbs.) of rice to feed the otherwise unpaid laborers.[30]

30. New China Daily, Nov. 24, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

464 The easy mobilization of the masses in the Southwest Region discloses also the existence of a large group of unemployed in that region. Projects such as the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway provide a means of coping with the unemployment problem and the population pressure which is typical in an overpopulated and underdeveloped country such as China is today.